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PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

IN KITEMBE SCHEME,

NORTH MARA, TANZANIA X

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U.S. Department of Agriculture
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James W. Hamilton, Assistant Professor of Anthropology
University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

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INTRODUCTORYIntroduction

This report is an expanded and revised version of the section entitled "The People, The Society, The Culture" of the US/AID report concerning the Kitembe Project in North Mara, Tanzania.

The present report was undertaken a) to verify the tentative conclusions of the above-mentioned section of the initial report (see Appendix on Methodology); b) to provide additional background information on Kuria agricultural practices and their relation to the social system; c) to anticipate problems of development arising from social factors; d) and finally to make recommendations for a successful program of agricultural development among the Kuria people.

The scope of the initial report was almost exclusively the area known as "the Kitembe Scheme". This is roughly 1700 acres of land marked out for a development project; it includes approximately 83 compounds or homesteads, some of which are polygamous, and some monogamous; it is located about five miles east of Tarime town.

Although the present report concentrates on the same location, it is concerned with a wider area as well for the following reasons: a) economic development cannot encompass a small area in isolation--it must rather relate to the whole nation, and beyond; b) the social system of the Kuria extends far beyond the Kitembe area, and this must be taken into account if success is to be achieved; c) there are important ecological variations in North Mara that are adapted to differentially and this assures that Kitembe is tied to surrounding areas in mutual interdependence.

Location and Setting

North Mara is a wedge-shaped piece of land 1500 square miles in size. It is bounded on one side by the Tanzania-Kenya border. Another side is formed by the Mara River which intersects the international boundary at an oblique angle. The third short side of North Mara is formed by an arc of the shore of Lake Victoria.

Utegi town has a sisal factory which will be turned into a powdered milk plant. It is roughly situated in the center of the area with branch roads to Kinesi and Sharati on the Lake shore, and to Tarime, the District Headquarters, to the east. A little further east is Nyamwaga at the head of the road which leads to the valley area below the dramatic escarpment which splits North Mara into two major ecological zones: highland and lowland areas.

"Rosana" as used in this report (and indeed, as used locally) refers to the whole highland plateau area in which the Kitembe project is located. The high, east-west escarpment separates Rosana from "Karibo", the valley area just to the South through which the Mara River flows, emptying into Lake Victoria to the west.

One cannot understand Rosana without knowing something about its relationship to Karibo: the Rosana plateau is a little over 5000 feet altitude, and Karibo is roughly 4000 feet, and it shows a dramatic ecological contrast to Rosana. There are significant differences in temperature, rainfall, soil type, and growing season, which leads to differences in technology, agricultural and animal husbandry, specialization, economic and social interaction. For example, Karibo has one maize growing season versus two at Rosana. All this results in a mutual symbiosis between the two areas.

Access to the outside world is through one main dirt road that dissects North Mara and beyond the Kenya border in the east, and to Musoma in the west. Musoma, located just outside North Mara, is the Regional Headquarters and is the main market center connecting to the outside world.

The People

The people and society of concern to this report are the Kuria generally, and the Batimbaru tribe more specifically. The Bantu-speaking Kuria number around 100,000 people. The total cultural-linguistic group is currently sub-divided into four named animal totem-taboo groups, each of which is further sub-divided into named tribes. As among the other ten or so tribes, the Batimbaru are divided into four or five major named clans, each of which has a number of sub-clans and lineages. The clans were important land holding units, as well as currently having other functions discussed below.

The Batimbaru are located at both Rosana and Karibo. The totem-taboo unit, known as Inchage, is an administrative area or "Division" today and includes the Batimbaru and two other tribes: the Banyabasi and the Basonga.¹

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social Units

Starting with the smallest, the significant social units are as follows: 1) the patrilineal, patrilocal compound which consists of one or several matrifocal households. The compound consists of a main house for the first wife and her small children; other houses, located around the cattle enclosure, may be those of married sons, as well as additional wives of the head of the compound; sometimes a group of older unmarried boys or girls will occupy one or more houses depending on how many children there are; brothers and sisters occupy separate houses. When a married son is able, usually after he has

¹The status of the Basonga, however, is ambiguous. They are often spoken of as merely a clan--but a clan of both Batimbaru and Banyabasi which is somewhat curious in itself. Tradition has it that the founders of the Basonga, Batimbaru and Banyabasi, were brothers. The Basonga, however, never had land or location of their own which led to their ambiguous status, supposedly because of a curse on the founder by his father. Basonga have intermixed with the other two tribes which have specific tribal land areas. The present Division Executive Officer of the Inchage--the old "chief" (see below)--is Basonga.

children, he will move away and start his own compound; thus new compounds are constantly being formed out of established ones. It is also the case that a man may have wives in more than one compound, and possibly in different areas. The compound is the only residential unit in Kuria society today. It is the basic socio-economic unit. Presently, there are no villages; the compounds are scattered around the countryside near the gardens and cultivated plots belonging to the compound.

2) A second social unit is the patrilineal sub-clan (the lineages are not discussed here) which serves to regulate marriage (in the past it also distributed land); one may not marry a person from his own sub-clan, but one may marry someone from his major clan, if the individuals are of different sub-clans; thus wide networks of kinship are established and insured.

3) The major clan seems to have been the basic land distribution unit, allotting land areas to sub-clans which in turn made individual assignments. Any disputes over land were settled by the clan elders, although the sub-clan may have served this function to some extent. These disputes, in the past, concerned only garden boundaries; people did not control a whole parcel of land, some of which was unused. Therefore, holdings were fragmented (see Settlement pattern and land, below).

4) Cross-cutting these clan units were two other types of social units; the first is the age-set which is formed by circumcision groups, including both male and female. The age-set is usually five years in depth with a year break between groups (recently this pattern has been altered slightly). The age-sets, in the past, served as cooperative work groups and warrior groups, particularly in fighting the Masai. The named age-sets, which go very far back in history, served to link sub-clans and clans in cooperative work and defensive activities, thus total group survival was more secure.

5) The generation-sets, also cross-cutting clan and sub-clan, consists of individuals in the same generation; i.e., children of "siblings", in a wide sense of this term, belong to the same generation-set; they may not be true siblings. There are two groups of four named generation-sets, and they are repetitive; if person "A" is in set 1, his son is in set 2, his grandson in set 3, his great grandson in set 4, and his great great grandson is in set 1 completing the circle; of course, by this time person "A" has died, so there is no overlap of personnel. The other group of sets follows the same pattern.

These generation-sets cross-cut the age-sets because true age is irrelevant to generation, but is the main criterion of age-set; two people of similar age may be in the same age-set, but because their fathers are of different generation-sets, they too belong to different generation-sets.

The generation-sets, like the sub-clans, regulate marriage. A person may not marry someone in an immediately adjacent set. He may marry someone of his same set or of a non-adjacent set. A person in one of the named groups of four sets may marry anyone from the other named group of four sets.

The generation-sets form the political organization of Kuria society: the "elder" set being in command of political power, decisions and disputes.

There is a regular ceremony to transfer power from one set to the next when the time comes for the "elder" to retire; approximately every 50 years. Since the generation sets cross-cut clan and sub-clan, they serve to link together the clans on political issues; thus there is a structure for a kind of "international relations", between clans.

Influences on Social Structure

Much of what has been said above refers to the past, particularly in terms of functional activities (although all the social structures still exist). But there have been changes. The Arabs (possibly), the Germans, the British, and finally, the Tanzanian government have imposed various changes on the traditional Kuria social structure and behavior.

The Germans insisted that each sub-tribe should have a chief rather than merely the clan councils. The chief, chosen by the sub-tribe, became the person the German government held responsible in administering the tribe and therefore, the Germans could solidify tribal land territories. The British apparently felt that numerous chiefs were cumbersome, so they further combined groups and instituted a "paramount" chief over several related sub-tribes which resulted in four "chiefdoms" among the Kuria. These were, however, based on four traditional animal totem groups of the Kuria. The British also instituted other social changes which related to the control of land and the tenure system, as well as administration.

The Tanzanian government in its modernization of the nation after independence has incorporated the chiefs more into the civil service system. The executive power of the chiefs was reduced and some were given different civil service posts. They were, therefore, subject to transfer, and some were apparently transferred to a different tribe. Currently a detribalization process is going on, instituted by the government, to give more coherence to the nation state.

The following new social structures and administrative units have been initiated for control, administrative and nation-building purposes: 1) "ten-house cells", which sometimes include more than ten houses, were formed with one man in charge of the houses (in the present case, a compound is counted as one house);

2) a "sub-division" is formed by a group of ten-house cells and a headman is in charge (Kitembe is a small area of the Binagi sub-division);

3) a "division" is made up of several sub-divisions (this is equivalent to the old "chiefdom" and is headed by a division executive officer (the former "chief"));

4) a "district" is composed of several divisions and is headed by an Area Commissioner, thus we have the North Mara district with the Area Commissioner in Tarime town;

5) a "region" is composed of two to four or so districts and towns and is

headed by a Regional Commissioner; thus Mara region (composed of North Mara and Musoma District) has a Regional Commissioner in Musoma town;

6) the "nation" is made up of all the regions (plus Zanzibar and Pemba) of Tanzania, and of course has the president as head of state.

Current Situation

Because of changes in the social structure and social behavior of traditional Kuria culture in the local area, the age-sets and generation-sets, although still in existence, no longer carry out all of their traditional functions. This is also true of the clans and sub-clans. Land disputes, for example, may be settled in the Divisional courts. However, in spite of the fact that traditional structures do not operate in the old ways, they still have an influence on behavior, and it is therefore important to understand how they did and do function.

Today, work-groups (called "committees") are formed of friends and relatives and age-mates. However, they appear to be a direct out-growth of the age-set work groups of the past. The modern committee has a "chairman" which is probably the functional equivalent of the "head" of the age-set who was the first boy circumcised in the set.

The clan council of elders and the generation-sets do not function in the same way as in the past, but the modern Village Development Council (VDC) has replaced it as a functional equivalent. The VDC is composed of all the heads of ten-house cells in the sub-division (gunguli). This group also has a chairman and the members are referred to by a term of respect for an "elder". The VDC deals with local cases of "land" dispute, property dispute, cattle and marriage dispute, etc. The VDC decides whether or not a family may settle in its area of jurisdiction, and it sets the boundaries of the land given to the family (the family does not, however, "own" this land). All this was a traditional clan function. The VDC is therefore important for any changes in land consolidation and should be consulted for proposed changes.

Organization of the Culture

The Kuria socio-cultural system has both structural and territorial units which have been discussed above. These units are organized in specific ways for carrying out required cultural activities for human survival: Tribal political organization was based on the generation-sets for making decisions and problem solving. It was based on the age-sets in times of warfare and defense. These two intersected each other as linking other structural units in the inter-action of political and other kinds of activities.

In economic organization (discussed more fully below), production is based on the sex- and age-division of labor, and on cooperative work-groups. Distribution is currently based on kinship relations, the bazaar, and the market to a small extent. Consumption is carried out mainly in the patrilineal compound, but there are some important social and ritual occasions where consumption takes place, the most prominent of which are life crisis rites.

Socialization and education which teaches values, attitudes, habits, beliefs, as well as knowledge, take place in the polygamous household, in the age- and generation-set organization, and today in the school. Because education takes place in these situations, they have an important bearing on the content, quality and quantity of what is learned. Education, therefore, varies dramatically from society to society and has nothing to do with biological capacity.

Kuria ritual and religion has both an individual and a social orientation, and it is closely associated with what is important in Kuria daily life and social structure. It is involved in rites of passage (birth, circumcision, marriage, elderhood, death, etc.), and validation of group structures. Christianity has come to play a role in Kuria belief and behavior, but it is also being transformed to meet Kuria social and individual needs which are based on existing social structures and beliefs.

Witchcraft, magic and medicine are closely related for the Kuria in that they are all used for curing or causing illness, and they are used effectively in social control of deviant behavior of one sort or another. Of course, this is changing due to the advent of Christianity, and modern medicine, and police, courts and jails. However, the amount of witchcraft and magic and traditional curing techniques should not be underestimated: In discussing the Kitembe Scheme, some feared that witchcraft and magic would increase due to more crowded living conditions. People would not have mentioned this if the techniques were not in use and believed. It is also the case that magic, or the threat of its use, has been used recently to deter even the behavior of officials.

Law and legal action are handled through traditional as well as modern structures. There is a body of rules ("laws") that are traditional and well known and understood by all. These are called upon and used in settling many kinds of local dispute from land rights to divorce; from cattle theft to sorcery. The VDC has become a kind of first native court, but cases, particularly of appeal, often go to the more modern Divisional Court.

Finally, cattle should be mentioned for their very important social use. They are a major mechanism used to facilitate and validate all social relations. Cattle are far more than an economic item.

FARMING AND ECONOMY

Farming as a Way of Life

One of the major impressions of this study is that the Kuria are not rigid in their adaptation to nature or to other groups surrounding them. One has a feeling of fluidity, almost "experimentation" in their relationship to the natural and social environment. This should speak well for the prognosis of development.

However, the Kuria, like all groups heavily dependent upon nature, are conservative and, as will be shown, "hedge their bets". They are not apt to make dramatic changes over a short period of time unless they are quite sure of the outcome--which can best be assured by demonstration (as Kuria have

told me many times when discussing Kitembe). The aspect of "experimentation" mentioned above comes, I believe, from two facts: First, they always have a "back up" source of food in another place, and they have a secondary means of obtaining food via cattle or relatives; secondly, many of their crops are relatively new to them. The Kuria have not settled into a well established routine with any but a few of their crops. The only well established and somewhat rigid pattern of adaptation surrounds the use and care of cattle with a secondary theme surrounding millet and sorghum. As one District Officer said, "The Ba-Kuria are a pastoral people and, though they cultivate sufficient food for their own needs and can always afford to sell to neighboring tribes in time of shortage, it must be admitted that agriculture is in its infancy....." (E. C. Baker, Ca 1929). Indeed, tradition has it that of the three tribes forming the In-chage totem-group, the Batimbaru were animal herders, the Banyabasi were warriors, and the Basonga were hunters of wild game. None were traditionally or emotionally agriculturalists although they all raised some millet and sorghum.

In development schemes we must not assume that farming is merely an "occupation" or "business" to the rural population. In the case of the Kuria it is also a mistake to assume that "farming" means merely or primarily crop cultivation. It may be nearly true that farming is only "a job" for farmers in highly industrialized nations where everything is based on the market. It certainly is not true for most of the world. For the Kuria, their way of life is animal care and cultivation. "Farming" ^{1/} is not something they do part time, at regular hours, and for a "profit" in the normal market sense of that term. The whole world view and social system revolves around the way of life and livelihood, and that way of life is "farming". A carpenter, say (or even a farmer), in an industrial society does not orient his whole life around his woodwork (or his crops) -- it is a job to him; a means to the end of getting cash so he can buy what anyone else can buy. To the Kuria, on the other hand, "farming" is the center of all activities; it is what defines "the good life". All activities relate to his "farming". The activities do not make sense to him otherwise. This world view is crucial for understanding, and for developing Kuria farming; they are not merely "farm workers". They are rather "farmers" which is like saying they are "men". This is the essential difference between the "culture of poverty" and the "culture of peasantry". ^{2/} The standard of living between the two may not be much different; the psychological difference is immense. All of this does not mean that the Kuria are satisfied with their lot; that they do not want to improve their lives; that development will not "take". But, it does imply that if there is no consideration of the human and social problems of developmental adjustment, there is not likely to be human development -- and this must be the ultimate goal. If the attempt is merely to

^{1/} This term is now defined for present purposes to mean the means of livelihood practiced by the Kuria with a major ideological, emotional emphasis on cattle herding with some cultivation practiced, mostly by women. For this definition the word will be put in quotes.

^{2/} I am using the term "peasantry" in a very loose sense here. Kuria do not really fit well the definition of "peasant" as described in other parts of the world, but it is close enough for the distinction being attempted here.

"increase production" measured in "cash", then the result may be instead to transform the culture of peasantry into the culture of poverty. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that this may happen: If the Kuria are completely alienated from their traditional cultural ways; if they are deprived of security of land use; if they are merely told what to do to get increased production -- they are likely to come to see farming as a job, and since cash income to them will not increase rapidly or dramatically, they may see themselves in a state of poverty with its attendant psychological depression. Let us hope that the culture of poverty is not a prerequisite to development. We should learn from the Industrial Revolution in Europe that the social disorganization resulting from drastic new ways of production cannot be ignored. Indeed, they can be planned for.

Another line of evidence for change in traditional Kuria culture toward the culture of poverty is that a factional split seems to be developing between what may be called the "traditional" and the "progressive" Kuria. The "progressive" are enthusiastic about change; they seek education; higher level of living is expected overnight. However, they see themselves as leaving farming, not improving it. They go to school, learn English, and seek wage jobs in towns. But, what happens when they must return to the shamba? They have lost their traditional orientation, and view farming as a difficult job with poor pay and no status!^{1/} All of this says something about the function of education and the techniques of development, which will be discussed below.

The present, "traditional", Kuria farming system, as well as the rest of the society, is quite sensitive to environmental and ecological variation. If there is some change in either the natural or social environment, the Kuria adapt accordingly. There is in other words, flexibility in Kuria articulation with the environment in its vicissitudes of change. However, Kuria farming is highly dependent on nature and there are narrow limits to possible change within the range of present social arrangements. There is little latitude for experimentation of a drastic sort and this is why the Kuria are conservative. Any serious disruption in the yearly round of activities might prove disastrous (thus the reason for their back-up resources). "Disruption" of livelihood, from this view, would include ritual and social variations as well as productive ones. For the Kuria believe that all activities are related to their well being and livelihood. They do not mind making slight adjustments in response to the environment: change of garden plot occasionally, planting or harvesting at slightly different times according to rainfall, shifts in settlement pattern to take better advantage of the environment or for protection against raids, etc. In fact, they probably do not realize they are changing in the normal course of events, even though over a long period of time the changes add up to rather dramatic ones. Indeed, their history indicates an amazing range of flexibility, adaptation, and change -- through long periods. However, to experiment with big, sudden, planned-from-the-outside change frightens them. Changes that occur "normally" are not usually perceived. If "normal" change is perceived it is usually after the fact, and therefore, not a threat because the outcome is already known or demonstrated.

^{1/} See article in Apthorpe 1968

On the other hand, change that is imposed or planned before hand is perceived, but the outcome is not known. This distinction makes all the difference in the response to change.

Settlement Pattern and Land

In pre-British times, the Kuria lived in stone-walled villages built by the age-sets. These were single sub-clan villages and the gardens were spread around in the clan lands outside, and sometimes at considerable distance from, the village. This settlement pattern was a protection against the Masai raids.

After the British arrived, the walled villages fell into disuse, and the sub-clans moved to the clan land where their gardens were located. Later, the sub-clans began to intersperse in the somewhat haphazard pattern that we see now. There were however still general clan and tribal areas which were occupied by the various groups of Kuria, and we can see today that the Kuria tribes have stayed separate; there are traditional tribal areas occupied only by tribal members.

The "garden" areas of a single compound have become more or less consolidated today, so that a man can point out his "land" area. Often there is a fence on at least one side of a man's plot. And, still today one may see a compound surrounded by a sisal or cactus "wall" reminiscent of the old walled villages. However, a man does not "own" the land on which he makes his gardens. He has use rights, and as long as he does in fact use it he has claim to it. But any unused or undeveloped part of the plot, that is not also his fallow field, may be claimed and used by a neighbor. There are use rights, but not ownership rights. "Land" disputes that come before the VDC always concern boundary dispute to a cultivated area: does it go to the man now using it or to the man it was assigned to earlier, but who has not used it for a time? Unused portions of plots are for cattle grazing by the surrounding houses.

When a man moves away from an area, the VDC may assign the land to someone else; likewise when a man moves to a new area, or when a married son wishes to establish a compound, the VDC will assign him a general area which he must cultivate if he expects to keep his use rights. A man may not sell his "land" because he does not "own" it. He may allow others to cultivate part of his assigned plot, however. He may at a later time reclaim his use rights to that area "loaned" out. And, a man may return to an area and claim use rights to an area in use by someone new. Thus, various types of disputes arise which come before the VDC. If the disputants agree to the VDC decision, nothing more comes of it. But if they do not agree, the case goes to the Divisional Court, the Baraza, to be settled by a primary judge appointed by the government. The judge reaches his decisions based on consultation with a local elder.

Family Organization and Land

Given the present social organization of Kuria society, it is no doubt true that a man's wealth in gardens and cattle is directly related to the number of wives and children he has: If he has more wives, he has more labor

available to increase his shamba size; if he has more wives he also has more children to work and to build his cattle stock, and thus his kin group. He is therefore able to again increase his shamba size, so he needs more wives and children. A man acquires cattle so his sons can marry, and so he can acquire additional wives and therefore children. He increases his cattle stock when his daughters marry. He also increases his stock by selling maize and coffee. All of this means that total productivity and thus surplus increases as the number of wives and children increase. There is, of course, a finite limit to how far this can go.

It is often expressed that the Kuria man is lazy, or that he does little work. However, his work is only sporadic. He works hard, but seasonally. It is also the case that the more wives he has, the less work is required of all, but still with an increase in productivity. A man who has no children or only one wife is considered poor indeed. They express their concern for children in the language: when a married woman is greeted she is asked how her children are, not how she is. At a Kuria "beer party" the men wish sons and grandsons for each other.

A related issue is that of the so-called "bride-price" in cattle. A wife is not really "bought" with cattle. The animals are a social mechanism to indicate that a man can support a wife, and the cattle establish a long-lasting kinship connection between a man, his family, and his wife's family. Bride-price is a kind of social insurance. Cattle are not "money". One cannot "buy" a wife with mere money because cattle for bride-price are not considered equivalent to money. If changes were instituted so that a man could acquire a wife with money, then women would in fact be degraded. The Kuria say, "if you can only pay money for a wife, then get a Kisii (a different tribal group) woman".

Therefore, with the present social and economic system, agricultural productivity is increased, cattle stock is increased, children are better cared for, social and economic relations among a wide net of kinsmen are insured. All of this is done with the "market" on the periphery of the economic system. Of course, this is all in a subsistence context. And, absolute level of productivity is narrowly limited.

The Kuria Farming Cycle

This section will outline the major agricultural activities in a yearly cycle of Kuria life. And, it will discuss the social organization of agriculture.

The agricultural year is divided into two major parts and two cultivation cycles. Each of the major parts are subdivided again. The parts of the year are: 1) OMOKA which is the main finger millet cycle and has a minor rest period called ITAIGO; 2) OMOBO which is the main sorghum cycle and has a minor period called ESALO which is the time of circumcision.

Omoka is roughly from January to June and includes the long rains from March through May. Itaigo is the short period of May to June. And, Omobo runs from August to January and includes the short rains from November through December. Esalo extends from October to December.

The actual cycle of activities, however, overlap these periods somewhat (see table 1): The plowing for the omoka period is done twice and goes on from November to January. In February, March and April planting and weeding is done. Harvest is in July and August. For the omobo period, plowing is done in August and September. October and November is the time of planting and weeding. Harvest is in January and February -- which overlaps with the next omoka period.

A large type of plow was introduced in 1929. It took ten bullock to pull it. Before that time all cultivation was done with a hoe. In about 1931 (at the time of the local locust invasion) the small plow was introduced.

In the past, previous to the 1930's, the major crops were finger millet, sorghum, casava, and sweet potato (see table 2). Finger millet was the main crop during omoka, sorghum was the staple crop during omobo, and cassava and sweet potato were planted during either or both cycles. Maize, at least in quantity, along with machine milling was introduced in 1936 by a Swede. Today, with more crops, and widespread use of the ox-drawn plow, the pattern was changed somewhat from the past.

The staple feed crops today are finger millet, sorghum, cassava (all three of which are often mixed to make ugali or porridge), sweet potato and a variety of banana, often cooked. The major cash crops are maize, coffee, bananas (no rice is grown at Rosana, but is a cash crop in other parts of North Mara). Depending upon cash needs, finger millet and sorghum are sold as are most of the minor crops mentioned below.

One major point of this section on the farming cycle is that agriculture, Kuria style, is an integrated set of activities and groups for performing those activities. There is little "spare" time or flexibility to experiment with drastic or any other kind of innovative change. As stated before, this does not mean that change does not occur. Excepting the present, the changes that have occurred in Kuria agricultural activities have not been perceived as change. There were only those changes that "happened" due to some shift in the environment. This is an important point to keep in mind when attempting to introduce change that is perceived.

TABLE 1

Cultivation Cycle

<u>Omoka</u>	(January thru June)	
	Plowing	November-December
	Weeding	January
	Planting (finger millet, sorghum, maize)	February
	Harvest (maize from previous Omobo)	February
	Weeding (during growing--long rainy season)	March-April
	Rest Period (<u>Itaigo</u>)	May-June
	Harvest (finger millet, sorghum, maize)	July-August
<u>Omobo</u>	(August thru December)	
	Plowing	August-September
	Weeding	October-November
	Planting (maize, sorghum, cassava, sweet potatoes, Irish potato, onions)	October-November
	Weeding (during growing--short rainy season)	October-November
<u>Esalo</u>	(circumcision period)	October-December
	Harvest (during next Omoka period)	January-February

TABLE 2

<u>Omoka</u> (long rains)	<u>Omobo</u> (short rains)
1. <u>Finger millet</u> (ulazi)	1. Finger millet (very small amt.)
2. Sorghum (used only as a border around a millet field and to divide "gardens" among various wives)	2. <u>Sorghum</u> (whole field planted at this time)
3. Sweet potato	3. Sweet potato
4. Maize	4. <u>Maize</u>
5. Cassava	5. Cassava
6. Bananas	6. Bananas
7. Beans	7. Beans
8. Peas	8. Peas
9. Irish potato	9. Irish potato
10. Onions	10. Onions
11. Carrots	11. Carrots
12. --	12. Tomato (August to Mid-November, must grow during dry season)
13. Pineapple	13. Pineapple
14. Cabbage	14. Cabbage
15. Squash	15. --
16. Gords	16. --
17. Peppers	17. Peppers
18. Groundnuts (few at Rosana at this time; mostly at Karibo)	18. Groundnuts (mostly at Rosana)
19. Cucumber	19. Cucumber
20. Simsim (mostly at Karibo)	20. --
21. Sugar cane (Mar.-May, during rains)	21. Sugar cane (November-December during rains)
22. Turnips	22. Turnips
23. Soy beans	23. Soy beans

Fruit trees are lemon, orange, guava, and avocado. Some "greens" that grow wild are collected and eaten.

Land Use in Cultivation

A man is assigned a plot of land by the VDC and the plot boundaries are marked in various ways. Often there is a sisal fence on at least one side. No plot is completely enclosed by fencing, but all know where boundaries are generally.

Within his plot, a man will build his compound, which may be fenced, consisting of several houses, grain bins, and cattle enclosure. And, he cultivates his various shambas within the plot assigned to him. Some land is always uncultivated. Coffee and banana shambas, or a mixture of the two, are separate and permanent, in contrast to the other crops.

Within his assigned plot a man makes his several shambas: During omoka he will plow a small rectangular field in which he plants finger millet, and he may mix in maize. He will often plant a border of sorghum; or, he may use sorghum as a divider to separate the shambas cared for by different wives. During omobo he may plant in the same field maize, sorghum, and sweet potatoes, or cassava, sweet potato and maize. These will not be mixed; rather the field will be divided into three sub-divisions. The second year this field may be planted entirely with maize. Sweet potatoes are never planted more than one year in succession in a field. The third year the field may again be planted with maize, but it is likely to be put to fallow and used for cattle grazing. The field is fallowed, if possible for 2 or 3 years before being used again. In Karibo, the shamba, during omoka, may be planted with finger millet mixed with simsim, bordered with sorghum. Very little maize is planted in the valley since it does poorly there. However, much cassava is planted.

The minor vegetable crops are planted separately or at the edge of major shamba areas.

Work-Groups

One Kuria elder told me that only students and fools do not belong to a work-group. There are many work-groups, and different kinds of work-groups; those for men, for women, mixed men and women, and for children. Everyone belongs to some work-group. They work cooperatively at all farming activities.

Members of compounds will join together to form such a work-group. They move from compound to compound in a circle doing whatever work is required. If, for example, there are 6 compounds that have formed a group, they will do the work for number one, then move to number two, etc. When they reach number six, they then start around again, perpetually. If it is someones turn to have work done, and he has no work, the group then move to the next house in turn; or the person whose turn is next may relinquish his turn to someone else in the group. If the group is asked to "back up" so to speak, to help someone out of turn they may do so, but expect to receive a beer feast in return.

Animals

The animals found at Rosana are cattle, goats, a few sheep, chickens, domestic cats and dogs. Cats are used for mousing, and dogs for warning of intruders. They are not pets.

Cattle are used for pulling the plow, for bride-price, for milk and for meat, usually at a feast or some ritual occasion. Goats and sheep are used exclusively for meat. There are few sheep; apparently they do not do well in the wet area of Rosana; they bear little wool. Chickens are used for meat and eggs.

It is very difficult to get a cattle count per compound because of the practice of dividing up the herd among friends or wives in various areas. Many people at Rosana keep some of their herd, part of the time, at Karibo. This is a protection against disease, thieves, and one guesses, the tax collector. However, the ideal bride-price is 40 cows, and I have heard of actual cases where nearly that many are in fact transferred. I have casually counted many herds encountered and the number is from 10 to 30. I have often counted 30 goats (with a few sheep mixed in) being herded with the cattle. It is true that more cattle and larger herds are kept together at Karibo. They seem to do better and there is more grazing land, and human population density is less than at Rosana.

Marketing

Marketing and transportation for marketing are obviously very important to any development scheme. The local bazaars are what might be called "internal markets". They serve mainly the local populations, and they interconnect various local groups, extending even into Kenya.

There are ten markets that serve the Rosana area, all within a radius of twenty miles; and there is at least one market on every day of the week. Four of the markets are in the Karibo valley area. Tarime is the major market for the whole area, and it connects directly with Musoma.

<u>Market</u>	<u>Group Attending</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Location</u>
1) Tarime*	Covers all North Mara	Sunday	Rosana
2) Nyamwaga*	Bwiragi, Myabasi, and others	Monday	"
3) Sirari	Bukira and people from Kenya	Tuesday	"
4) Keredede*	Nyamongo, etc.	Sunday	Karibo
5) Itirio	Bwiregi, etc.	Friday	Rosana
6) Mangucha	"	Sunday	"
7) Nyabohanse*	Batimbaru	Thursday	"
8) Itandura	"	Friday	Karibo
9) Kubirama	"	Wednesday	"
10) Kebukiri*	"	Saturday	"

*Old established markets; others are relatively new.

A look at the history of any modern or developing nation will quickly show the relation of development to means of communication and transportation. Japan is an excellent case in point.

Musoma town is the major market outlet for products from the Rosana and Karibo areas. It is also the market from which most outside goods come to the Tarime area. Musoma is therefore a very important market outlet for all of North Mara; its development as an economic center needs to be considered seriously in any scheme to develop the agriculture of the Kuria area. The potential productivity of these areas is entirely dependent on the Musoma outlet, if anything more than local improvement is to occur.

At the present time Musoma seems to have great potential for facilitating the development of North Mara: It has fairly easy access to the larger center of Mwanza which in turn is connected to Dar es Salaam and the rest of Tanzania and the world through the railhead at Mwanza. The road from Mwanza to Musoma could be improved considerably to increase the speed of transport between the railhead and Musoma. However, there is already another means of connecting railroad and Musoma and therefore North Mara; this is the new port that is just being completed which will already accommodate freight cars. These can be loaded in Musoma, trans-shipped by ferry to either Mwanza or Kisumu in Kenya; then taken by rail to Dar in Tanzania or to Mombasa in Kenya; thus access to the world market is possible. The one difficulty at present is transportation of about seventy miles from Tarime to Musoma. The road is poor, and even more difficult in the rainy seasons. Improvement of this road would assure access to the outside markets of Tanzania and Kenya; and thus a large stumbling block to the agricultural development of all of North Mara would be cleared.

Kuria Economy

Mention of the market and marketing raises the issue of the organization of the economic system of Kuria society.

Kuria economy is basically a subsistence economy. This does not mean that they are living at a "bare subsistence level". A sub-sistence economy is one in which the "market", as a mechanism for determining price through supply and demand and paid in money, is not the major means of economic distribution. An important feature of Kuria economy is that land, labor, and capital (the factors of production) are not commodities which are bought and sold on the market.

Kuria economy is tri-centric: the major part of the economy revolves around kinship modes of production, distribution, and consumption. Secondly, the bazaar (market place) plays a slightly peripheral role in economic activities. And, last, the true market is on the edge of the economic system.

The subsistence or kinship economy is not based on supply and demand schedules and there is no price tag attached. The productive "labor force" is supplied through work of compound members, other kinsmen, and cooperative work-groups which form a quasi-kin network for productive activities.

Compensation is not in terms of money, but instead the exchange of work, and sometimes a beer-party, and sometimes part of the yield. There is no notion of "the exploitation of labor" because there is no distinction between "labor" and "management". Also, much of the distribution system is effected by means of kinship relations, or by direct exchange of one kind of produce for another in a reciprocity system. Exact equivalences are not reckoned. However, beef and goat meat are sold from the compound to non-kin. Consumption too is basically those items produced and distributed outside the bazaar. Sometimes, important acts of consumption are of a social, ritual type.

The market-place or bazaar plays a secondary role in Kuria economy. A few "capital goods" are bought there such as hoes, plows, large knives, etc. This is, however, a kind of "penny capitalism". Some distribution takes place at the bazaar (sokoni): vegetables, bananas, cassava, beans, salt, soap, a little millet and sorghum, a few chickens, some goats, lamps, clothing, cooking utensils, etc. are bought and sold; and there are a few people who act as middlemen, buying produce from local farmers and selling it at a small profit. But, it is mostly consumption goods that are purchased in the bazaar; the bazaar seems to function primarily as a point for exchanging food products for durable consumer goods, with money intermediate between them. This, however, is only slightly more complex than direct exchange. Local Kuria, living outside Tarime town buy very little food in the bazaar. Most food items are transferred out to such places as Musoma. A rough approximation to average expenditure is 40 sh. per month. This kind of trade does not lead to development.

The bazaar is non-kinship in organization and money is the medium of exchange. But, even here supply and demand play a very small role. Prices are fairly standardized by tradition, although a small amount of bargaining is possible (but not to the extent that it is in Asia, for example). Even though kinship is not a significant aspect of bazaar behavior, there is still a strong overtone of sociability, and good social relations are an important element: one may always go to the same Duka (shop), which sells non-local and international imports, because a non-economic social relation has been developed which facilitates economic exchange. Competition between the shops is in terms of underlying social elements, not wholly economic ones. The Sunday market is at least as much a social event as it is an economic one.

The third element of the economy, the true market, takes place outside the bazaar. It is the least developed part of the economy: some cattle are bought and sold at the Baraza; dried maize, rice, coffee, the major cash crops, are sold only at the cooperatives. But even here, supply and demand plays a small role. Prices, controlled by the government, are determined by the world market over which the Kuria have no control at all.

The true market has no land and very little labor for sale (usually only among town people). The market and bazaar are peripheral to Kuria economy for structural reasons, but also because if they were removed Kuria economy would not collapse, although it would be crippled a little. In America, for example, if the market failed, the whole economy would fall into chaos.

The Kuria economy, therefore, is a complex of market and non-market elements meshed together, but operating in different spheres.

DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS

Problems of Communication

Any scheme of directed change or development implies communication between the innovator and those who are to benefit by the change. And, communication implies knowledge and understanding and some general as well as specific goals.

There is always a serious problem of communication when two cultures meet. In the present situation it is a threefold problem: there are the American conceptions and understanding and ideology of development; there are the aspirations and view of the Tanzanian government; and there is the Kuria view of the world and their place in it.

One of the difficulties encountered when a "developed" society meets an "undeveloped" one is that it is felt that the communication problem is merely one of technique -- what is the best way to get across the ideas? Technique may be a serious problem, and often the technique is inappropriate for a given culture, and therefore the "message" never comes through; or if it does it is very distorted and misunderstood.

Technique, however, is only part of the difficulty. The real stumbling block is that communication is a two-way street. People from the two societies can and must learn from each other if communication is to be effected. Individuals from the two societies do not conceive the world and man the same way. Translation from one to the other is only roughly approximate. It is much more than merely finding the word in one language that "means the same thing" in another language. The whole cultural content and context must be taken into account. Even if words are found that are roughly equivalent, the understanding of the words may be very different. Each side must try to understand the world view of the other. For example, one may take the idea of "disease" and "illness". We have in the West a sophisticated view of the cause of disease and the resulting illness. We make a rigid distinction between animate and inanimate cause. However, it is often the case that members of an undeveloped society do not make the same animate-inanimate distinction, and they do not have a "germ theory" of disease. They are likely to ask "why me?" or "what have I done to be punished like this?" An illness may be attributed to magic, spirits, bad luck; one Tanzanian school teacher attributed his dysentery to the weather conditions (of course, some Americans do this too). Since this is true, it is very difficult to deal with the problem of curing disease by "education" or by merely telling people to take a series of pills. This is not just a matter of propaganda technique. One must first deal with the concept of the cause of illness.

The issue of medicine and illness has been discussed as an example, but the problem is just as acute when dealing with agricultural improvement and animal husbandry. Implementation of the present project is likely to fail unless we thoroughly understand local conceptions of agriculture, seasons, work-habits, land tenure, belief in supernatural causes of feast or famine, etc. It is also important, in the present case, to understand the social uses of cattle and the important social function that "bride-price" in cattle plays in

cultural survival: cattle are not "money", and they are not merely an economic item, but then, neither are they purely social.

There is a further problem in communication and action, and that is the issue of the relation of technical change to socio-cultural change. There is a cause and effect relationship between the two which people do not realize; it is one thing to ask a person if he would like to increase production and thus have more money; it is quite another to understand, explain, and deal with the changes in family arrangements and social structure (political and economic) that will, inevitably, result from the technical change. People will always say "yes" to more money; they are likely to act "no" if they perceive that undesirable social change -- from their view -- will result. Generally, people everywhere believe that any social change is undesirable, and this adherence to tradition is not restricted to developing societies. Very often in undeveloped societies when resistance to change is met, it is stated that the people are lazy, or stupid, or stubborn; or some other such epithet. In fact it is more often the instigators of change who are derelict for not understanding the problem: communication has broken down, or more likely, never started in the first place.

In the case of the Kuria, for example, the division of labor is such that technical change in the agricultural system will cause "upset" in the behavior of men particularly; conceptions of land tenure and inheritance are such that "individual plots" of a given size for a specific number of households will cause long run problems; "market" behavior is such that the factors of production (land, labor, capital) are not involved, or are only peripherally involved so that expectations will not be met -- for either side. If there is no attempt to anticipate and deal with these (and other) problems through knowledge and communication, there is likely to be great resistance to change; or at least the level of accomplishment will be far less than expected or possible.

There is no suggestion here that change should not be introduced. After all change is the purpose of technical assistance. What is being proposed is that care must be taken to introduce and explain particular changes that will work, and in ways that will be accepted in the cultural context at hand. And, communication -- both ways -- must be kept constantly in mind. Proposed change simply will not be successful if there is an attempt to ignore or run rough shod over a social system that has developed as an integrated system over centuries of adaptation.

Development and its Problems

The major goal of development is economic and social development. The social change involved in development is a problem because it is possible for the social situation to become worse rather than better with technological and economic change. The means to achieve "total development" then are variable. They may include cooperative socialistic endeavor, as in the case of Tanzania; or they may be individualistic as in the case of Kenya. The Israeli Kibbutz is one example. The private enterprise system is another. It is also true that the means may change over time as in the case of the Mormons

in the United States: they started with a cooperating "socialistic" social arrangement (This is an appropriate example for Tanzania because the Mormons were polygamous) and have become highly "capitalistic". It is quite legitimate to try various "social experiments" in development schemes because we do not yet know the "best" technique. After all, the Industrial Revolution was not a raging social success.

Another important goal for development may be put in negative terms: the "vacuum effect" must be avoided at all costs. In the present case the goal must be to develop Tanzania, not merely 3 square acres called Kitembe. The scheme must, therefore, be organized in such a way that it articulates with the development of the nation. For this reason the roads, ships, trains, etc. out of North Mara have been discussed here.

The major problems, then, of change and development are not basically technical ones. These are rather easily solved, given expert technical knowledge, advice and funds. But, schemes for development often fail, or do not reach levels expected. Why? The basic problems and "inhibitors" are social-political: social aspects of the culture involved on the one hand, and political policy and implementation issues of the government involved on the other hand. Government is an agency for social change, especially in developing nations. Social inhibitors, commonly viewed as "recalcitrant backward" people, do not exist. There are some social factors (i.e. structural aspects of the way the society operates), and probably some attitudinal ones. There may even be dilemma situations where the society must change dramatically when some absolutely essential policy must be instituted for change to occur; I suspect those situations are extremely rare. Usually the "social factors" can be worked around given flexible, enlightened, informed policy and techniques of introducing change. As a general policy, I would not recommend attempting to change the social system directly because we do not yet know enough about social systems in detail to predict the secondary effects of direct change. On the other hand, if innovations are made at the level of technology, the society will adjust more or less "naturally". But, at the same time we must build into the situation the possibility of the social system taking over and running the change once it has been introduced. Otherwise, the innovation will always be alien and it will not be incorporated in any organic sense into the society; in the long run this means failure: once the outside management is removed or corrupted, the system will revert more or less to its original form.

Any society wants "development" but the definition of what constitutes development may differ radically between the innovators and the society to be changed; the two views must be understood and brought together. The so-called inhibitors to development are inhibitors only as far as the innovator interprets what that must mean. There are no inhibitors to development per se. If there is resistance to a proposal, it would behoove the innovators to find out why. There may be a good reason why it would not work, which cannot be readily seen, and which the people themselves cannot articulate easily. There is a basic communication problem which may require a "cultural middle-man".

It seems to me that the critical issue for development is to begin with the existing system whatever it is and however it is organized. A technician

should not ask "what can I do with this land" which implies all the background of Western social organization and technology (which are closely interrelated); rather, one should ask "what can they do with this land" given technological aid and the context of their social organization and technology (which are also closely interrelated). The question involves not only what is possible in some ideal sense, but what is feasible in a practical sense. I will try to illustrate this with some problems that have come to my attention during this investigation.

1. There is the problem of the need to spend money in order to make money. This is a kind of take off point. The Kuria have very little money, and none they believe, to spare. So, the question becomes how to get the Kuria to spend money on capital improvements that will make a difference. They might easily be convinced that improved techniques, equipment, fertilizers, pesticides will increase their yield. But, there will be great resistance to experiment and to spend their own money.

2. There is the problem of work-load. The Kuria, both men and women, are hard working. The work of women is more sustained than that of men. But, work is more or less sporadic and seasonal for all. There is no Protestant ethic of work being "good" for its own sake. There is no "evil" in idleness if there is no work that must be done. Time is also conceived differently to a Kuria. He does not operate in terms of an eight-hour day, five-day week. He works when he must; he loafs when he can. Now, it is obvious that there is a direct relation between the input of work and the output of yield -- particularly in agricultural pursuits -- even though this may be modified by natural pests, techniques, and tools, etc. But given these improvements, it is quite conceivable that the Kuria will merely work less to get the same output. He must see some advantage to increased work, or even to the same amount of work with higher yield, given improvements. This will be no easy task; arguments of "hard work will develop Tanzania" are likely to leave him unimpressed and unchanged. He must see some personal immediate advantage. Consumer goods might be one incentive which brings up the crucial issue of transportation again.

3. There is the problem of the "stupid-lazy syndrome". It is often said that the Kuria, particularly the man, is lazy; this is obviously related to what was said above. It should be clear that to say the Kuria are lazy is too simple an answer and it misses the point. There is, however, another pair of factors involved: first, is the issue of confusing human behavior with cultural potential. People are often called lazy when they do not produce, but the cause of low production is in fact a simple technology which allows only meager productivity. The second issue has to do with the relation of health to work output: a poor diet leads to poor health, and this leads to lowered human output potential. Cultural knowledge should not be equated with human intelligence, but poor nutrition and health must be equated with lowered output.

4. There is the problem of the correlation of work with other activities. Productive, agricultural work is only one of the things done by the Kuria. There are a whole series of other activities that are, and must be, carried on -- birth, death, marriage, dispute solving, ritual activities, marketing, raising children, etc.; and the agricultural work cycle is also correlated within itself in terms of growing period, weather cycle, kinds of crops that may be

planted together and at the same time, etc. Anything is not possible because of these other factors that must be considered. Suggestions for agricultural development and improvement must take these other factors into account if success is to be achieved. All of this is why one must start with the existing system. As said before the problems are not basically technical, although a great deal of technical improvements can and need to be made.

5. There is the problem of cattle. They are an economic and a social item to the Kuria. Cattle are an important cultural focus and this issue cannot be ignored, nor can cattle merely be dismissed as a social factor for the Kuria. It seems perfectly clear that there is over-grazing in the Rosana area; on the other hand if the Kitembe project people are not allowed to have cattle that can be used for bride-price, then no wives will be able to cross the boundaries of the Kitembe scheme, in either direction. This simply will not work. People in the project area see the problem very well. This issue is why Karibo becomes crucial to the success of the scheme in the short run: cattle for bride-price may be able to be kept there, but the people are not certain yet that this solution will work; after all there are already people in Karibo with their own cattle to consider. Is it large enough, and can social relations be worked out, so that Rosana cattle can be accommodated too?

6. There is the problem of the interpretation of words relevant to the project such as "ownership" and "development". The Kuria in the Kitembe area are very concerned over who will "own" the kitembe scheme. They are not really worried about the concept of "private property" as we understand it in the West. But they have traditionally had tribal rights to the land, and individual security in land use. Now, they are concerned that the government will take away and own the land and dispossess the Kuria; or at the very least the government or some individual government official will reap the profits of the scheme. This is a serious concern to the Kuria and they have spent much time in meetings discussing it. They want assurance that they will have security of land use and will reap profits themselves.

The other main interpretation issue is that of the word "development". This one is so subtle that the local people do not readily perceive the issue, but they feel it. What they mean by "development", what the Tanzanian Government, and what the U. S. Government mean by the word is probably quite different. The word to governments generally is summarized under the phrase "increased production and capital improvement". To the Kuria the word means merely "more money for existing crops" and a few labor saving devices and security from pests etc. There is an excellent example of the subtle difference of interpretation in a recent publication of the USDA concerning Tanzanian cattle:

.....Tanzania has extensive rangelands.....Most of its national herd of some 10 million head of cattle are in the traditional sector where the size of an owner's herd is considered more important than its quality..... (Foreign Agriculture, Foreign Agricultural Service, USDA, Nov. 11, 1968, p.8)

This is a simple, straightforward, and confounding statement. The Masai, who are no doubt implied in the statement, certainly do have some standard of

quality which they apply to their cattle and they value it. The issue that is at the base of the confusion and misunderstanding is what is of value and therefore, the content of the word quality is different for the Masai than it is for one who defines quality in terms of beef. A society that valued horse meat might say that the U. S. put beauty or speed ahead of quality in its horse herds! The issue here is not whether or not the Masai are correct in their evaluation of quality; rather the point is that until it is understood what quality means in a cultural context it will not be possible to change it to, e.g., quality in beef production. The Masai are not stupid as the above quote implies. They are, however, different. Likewise, the Kuria of North Mara are not stupid. One must understand this before change is undertaken.

7. There is a problem of education. This is one of the most urgent problems for the development of the Kuria in the Kitembe scheme. There should be a local, high-priority, intensive, upgrading of the local education system to coincide with the Kitembe scheme. The items that are weak are agricultural education, health, nutrition, child care, and adult education skills, family budgeting and economy. All of this could be coordinated with the Kitembe scheme, but would benefit others outside the scheme as well. The people are already well disposed to education and are anxious for their children to go to school. They have set up a local school aid society to help those children who are poor. This speaks well of the potential of a curriculum for broad, practical education which will have long-ranged effects for Kitembe and all North Mara.

8. There is a problem of residence and settlement pattern. This problem is related to a group of related sub-problems. Should the residence pattern stay as it is with scattered compounds located on individual plots? Should there be cluster villages with individual plots? If so, how should the cluster village (s) be constituted? Should there be individual as well as communal plots? How would this be organized? How will residence pattern affect the work-group pattern? If there is to be resettlement, should there be a transition period and what should its form be? Should there be individually owned household gardens with collective cash crop plots? All of these questions, and more, are raised with the question of settlement pattern; any one or combination of them could spell failure to the Kitembe Scheme. It is a very serious consideration and should not be passed over lightly. The Kuria are quite concerned about it. The settlement and residence pattern is related to the whole social organization (in any society), and this in turn has a bearing on the pattern of agriculture that will emerge.

In their history, the Kuria have had different settlement patterns. At one point they had walled cluster clan or sub-clan villages with their shambas located away from the villages. Later they began to move the household compound out to the shambas, but still within sub-clan areas. Today the sub-clans and sometimes the clans are interspersed so that the settlement pattern is somewhat haphazard with compounds located on individual plots. Individuals have virtually perpetual use rights to these plots. The Kuria are afraid that if they move to a cluster village pattern they will loose their land. They need some assurances on this issue. How to deal with and hopefully solve all the problems mentioned in this section and more is the subject of the next section.

CONCLUSION

Conclusions & Recommendations

This section of the report makes a series of assumptions that are important in discovering the "social inhibitors", and in making recommendations for improvement. They are as follows:

1. That "development" is a good thing and can be achieved with minimal social upheaval;
2. that development implies some change in all aspects of the social system -- agricultural, economic, social structure, politics, religion, and socialization of the individual;
3. that development is basically nothing more than directed change -- there has never been a completely static society because there is always adaptive interaction with a constantly changing environment;
4. that the purpose of the present project is to increase productive capacity of each "farmer" so that he has a higher level of living, and so that he has some surplus for a cash income;
5. that an increasing "cash income" involves entrance more and more into a true market economy;
6. that cooperation and willingness -- maybe even eagerness -- on the part of the people must be achieved if there is to be success;
7. that success will be achieved if the people themselves understand and approve of the necessary technical changes, and the consolidating of any fragmented holdings;
8. that people do not ordinarily make drastic innovative changes without outside assistance and guidance;
9. that the Kuria should not merely be told how to increase production, but rather should be shown in cooperative endeavor with technicians, how to increase production on a plot of existing proposed average size, using those tools and techniques that will actually be introduced, and using no more labor than they can realistically muster based on existing work-groups;
10. that proper channels of communication, using existing structures (but introducing some if found necessary) can be achieved between the innovators and the farmers;
11. that communication is much more than a technical problem, and includes understanding of the working of the total social system.
12. that the innovators must start with the given social and cultural context, realizing that some changes are not possible except at great "social cost" (e.g., prohibiting bride-price), while others involve little or no

social cost (e.g., fostering work-group cooperation);

13. that the way to avoid great social cost is to avoid tampering with the social system directly, limiting innovation to technical change, which will allow the social structure to adapt by itself in only those ways necessary;

14. that value judgements concerning social behavior only block communication and are not useful because the social system will change following technological change, but in the present case, change will be made on an African model.

Many of the foregoing assumptions imply their own recommendations for action in developing Kuria economy. But in addition to these, the following solutions to social problems are recommended:

1. Because of existing land tenure and the way in which new compounds are formed, any division and "freezing" of land holdings on the basis of a given number of compounds will cause great difficulty and dispute over who should hold what. Therefore, plot boundaries and the number of plots staked out should be determined in consultation with the existing VDC.

2. Because of the pattern of bride-price in cattle, there should be a concentrated effort to distinguish dairy cattle, as a different kind of cattle, not to be used for bride-price, while leaving alone the present practice of using zebu cattle for bride-price (which may wither in time anyway).

3. Having plural wives is not a hindrance at present. The institution, in fact, insures a larger work force than would be possible if a man had to hire labor. In the future, as production increases, and as the Kuria enter the market economy, their cash income will increase and plural wives will no doubt be on the decline. Market economy and polygamy are in basic conflict. Thailand is a case where as the peasants entered the cash economy, the number of marriages with plural wives decreased.

4. The entrance of the Kuria into a cash economy will take some time, but with the introduction of improved agricultural techniques, more varied cash crops, a desire for consumer goods at reasonable prices will be a major incentive to enter the market with cash crops.

5. A major and decisive factor of economic development is marketing and distribution facilities. Some effort should be expended in improving marketing in all of North Mara if the local economy is to develop.

6. Although the Kuria have an intimate knowledge of their natural environment, it is limited by the available, existing technological interaction with the environment. There will be no difficulty in getting them to want technological improvement; there may, however, be a problem of adaptation: What tools to use for what purposes, and in what ways. Patience and demonstration will have to be used in explaining the various innovations.

7. One of the goals of the present project is long-term economic development. However, to get that started, some short-term dramatic effects should

be attempted. The Kuria, as other groups with a subsistence economy, do not think in terms of 5, 10, or 15 years; rather they look to the next harvest. Expectations are of short duration. Some short-run payoff crop, process, or technical item should be introduced to increase incentive for long-range goals.

8. The importance of the channels of communication cannot be stressed too much. The headman of the sub-division and VDC, through its chairman, are the major means of existing communication in the project area; and they also form the local political structure. These should be the major points of contact for getting cooperation and as a communication link. The headman and the VDC operate by discussion and consent. Too much should not be expected in terms of insuring that individual farmers will "do what they are told". The Kuria man is proud, independent, and conservative. He must be convinced, not coerced, and the best way to do this is through the existing, local power and communication structure.

9. A labor force for getting projects carried out is obviously a necessity. The existing work-groups (there are many in the project area and extending outside it) should be encouraged to continue working and learning together. These are really small "cooperative societies" that do everything from cleaning a field for cultivation, to house-building, to the celebration of work completion with a beer feast. And, since the work-groups extend outside the project boundaries, these boundaries should not be rigidly enforced.

10. Capital investment should be encouraged by relatively easy loan arrangements, on both a long-term and short-term basis and at low interest rate. Admittedly, this may be a bit risky particularly in the early stages, but the risk needs to be taken if capital improvement is to come about. Unless the present tenure system is changed, collateral in land is not possible. However, crop and/or equipment could be used for collateral; loans might be made dependent upon actual use of improved techniques.

11. There are many problems of detail to be dealt with. They cannot be solved before the fact. What is needed is on-going flexibility as changes are being instituted at Kitembe so that alterations may be made as necessary. Good "intelligence" is a requisite to success: If problems, their causes, and possible solutions are perceived early, they are more likely not to disrupt the change process completely.

12. The above implies that a kind of "cultural middleman" is necessary. The purpose is not to solve problems with a "wave of the hand" but rather to know and explain the point of view of the government on the one side, and the Kuria on the other. If each side has a sympathetic understanding of the other and there is someone who can learn and explain the goals of each side, then there is more likelihood of success. The function of the cultural middleman should be a communication link, and to perceive problems early so that they may be solved before they become serious.

13. There seems to be a tendency in projects of directed change like Kitembe to have over-physical planning and over-bureaucratization. (See Apthorpe 1968)

Both of these tendencies should be avoided because they lead to rigidity in planning and action, and to lack of local participation.

APPENDIX

Methodology and Orientation

The methodology used in gathering data for this report, as well as for the section of the initial report written by the present author, was two-pronged: Analysis of published and unpublished written material, and field research in North Mara.

The written material included a) unpublished ethnographic reports by a past D. O. in Tarime (E. C. Baker c. 1929), and a trained anthropologist (M. J. Ruel, c. 1959); b) reports by various British administrative officers on government, law, population, etc. (D. O. Reports) found in the files at Tarime; and c) more general published works dealing with history, society, statistical information, and development. This material provided important data on history, change, and attempts at development in East Africa.

The field research was carried out for six months, from September 1968 through February 1969. The techniques used were participant-observation and open-ended informal interviews. In addition, more systematic, directed interviews were sometimes appropriate and used. This general methodology was chosen for two reasons: first, it was not feasible to carry out extensive house to house surveys with a formal questionnaire due to the short time period, and due to the breadth of the investigation (nothing less than the total social system was investigated, but some areas more intensively than others); secondly, the overall orientation of the research was historical and structural rather than purely quantitative. The orientation was to understand structural change of the social system through time leading up to the present situation in North Mara. The interest was in the process and actualities of change rather than minute quantification of the present.

Two male interpreter-assistants were engaged to help me in collecting data, to act as guide-interpreters, and to actually carry out some of the interviewing of particular people on specific subjects; and the assistants recorded some events that I was not able to observe. Information from and about women's activities was gathered by my wife with the aid of a female interpreter who was hired for the purpose.

The three assistants were young, local Kuria well known in the area. The women and one man are married with families. There was, therefore, no rapport problem for the assistants, and no misunderstanding of the social situation on their part. My own rapport developed quite rapidly.

A wide range of individuals were contacted and interviewed. These included: people inside and outside the Kitembe area; farmers and non-farmers; officials and non-officials, old and young; married and unmarried, male and female; Kuria and non-Kuria; traditional and progressive.

Not all of these individuals were interviewed in depth or on successive occasions however. Only those who were willing to give their time and who proved to have the requisite knowledge were chosen for repeated interviews. Not all of those interviewed were positively disposed to change. Validity was checked by collecting information on the same subject from different people.

Besides interview, I attended meetings of various types and observed events, ceremonies, and activities of as many kinds as possible in order to gather data, build rapport, and observe the society in operation. There were long question-and-answer sessions after each such activity in order to understand and to relate it to other aspects of Kuria life. Of course, quantitative data were collected where possible, but the major emphasis was on the structure and operation of the culture over time in order to understand its present operation, and in order to make recommendations for change consistent with the socio-cultural system.

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